1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ways built into the center of the platform. Formerly the bottom hatch (*fe lau*) was level with the platform and lashed to it by complicated knots supposed to be known only to the owner of the house. When in use, the fastenings were untied and the hatch placed on the ground. The top hatch (*fe tai*), about 12 inches directly over the first hatch, was lashed horizontally to the top ends of this vertical poles, which were lashed at the bottom to the platform supports. The two hatches and the vertical supporting poles thus formed a sort of box resting on the platform. On visiting his *uale tabetaka*, the owner took with him a block of wood which he placed on the ground under the hatch. He mounted this block to unfasten the first hatch, inside of which he usually kept a length of rope. One end of this he fastened to the platform and then, by the help of the hanging rope, scrambled up to open the second hatch. On leaving, he securely fastened the hatches, retied the knots, placed his piece of rope on the platform, and carried off his block of wood. After white contact a short ladder, something like a truncated grocer's ladder, came into general use to reach the platform hatches. This was called *tale*, a name probably derived from the word "stool". It was kept in the owner's sleep house when not otherwise needed. I saw no *uale tabetaka* house with two hatches in the storage platform. The above description is based on informant's account of old time practice. Many houses today, however, have the single hatch, which as often as not is fastened with hinges and padlock to the platform.

RIDGEPOLE, WALL PLATE HOUSE

The type *uale atua* house is a bilateral wall plate house with two or more ridgeposts supporting the ridgepole (fig. 11). The type house was used in former days principally as a god house (*uale atua*), but the massive construction style made the same type of house ideal for a meeting or watch house. Smaller houses of this type were occasionally used as sleep houses. There are available for study today the watch house at Matala, erected 75 years ago (described as type), a sleep house on the outer beach of Uta, and a model *uale atua* house (C8086)[1]. Brief mention of certain features of the framework of the watch house has already been made by Macgregor (20,p.43).

The watch house was originally constructed with six wall posts. A seventh post has been added at a later date to give added strength. The wall posts of *paupau* wood are sunk about an arm's length in the ground. Each post is round in cross section, save at the top where it is adzed roughly rectangular. The top of each post is grooved to receive the wall plates of pandanus wood, which are laid in the grooves, unlashed (fig.11). Five tiebeams are placed transversely across the wall plates, one tiebeam at each end, and the other three equi-spaced along the length of the house. The end of each tiebeam is grooved to fit securely over the wall plate to which it is lashed. The ends of the tiebeams are flush with the wall plates. Two ridgeposts of *paupau* wood, buried in the ground at one end and grooved at the other end, support the main ridgepole of pandanus wood which rests in the grooves and is unlashed. Each ridgepost rises from the ground on the inner side of the second tiebeam from each end; about 2 inches separate ridgepost and tiebeam. Running between wall plate and ridgepole on either side of the house are six principal rafters of pandanus wood. Each rafter is round in cross section but is grooved at each end to fit against ridgepole and wall plate, to which it is lashed. Each rafter at its lower end projects about 9 inches beyond the wall plate. The under surface at the end of the rafter is flattened that the square surface of the eave purlin may fit more closely to it before lashing (fig.11,e).

[1] Unless otherwise stated, all collection numbers refer to specimens in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewolongi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Watu-manavo-nui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pa*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Soul Trap

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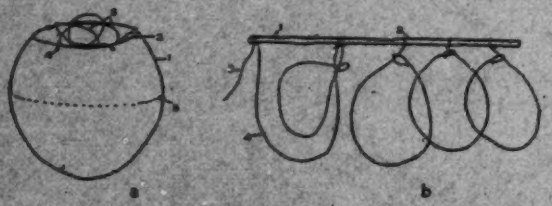
Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.



a b

223 284

Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*maenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*maenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2½ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *esao* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *esao* fiber.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

774
775
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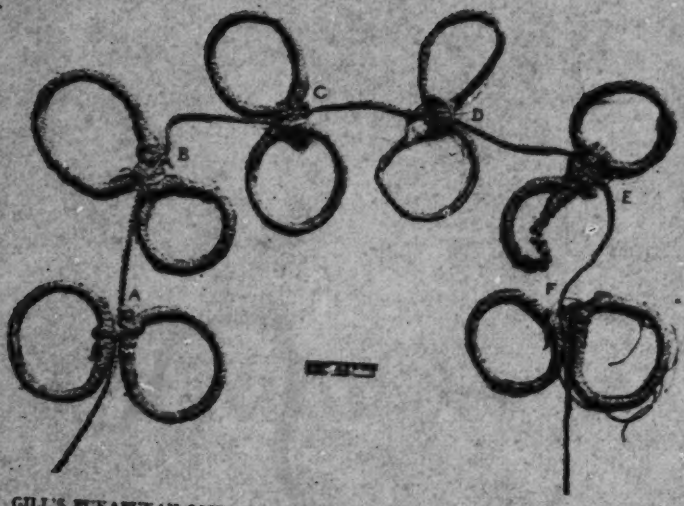

GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 12 FEET 1½ INCHES; A TO B, 6½ INCHES; B TO C, 7½ INCHES; C TO D, 6½ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3½ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 5 INCHES.